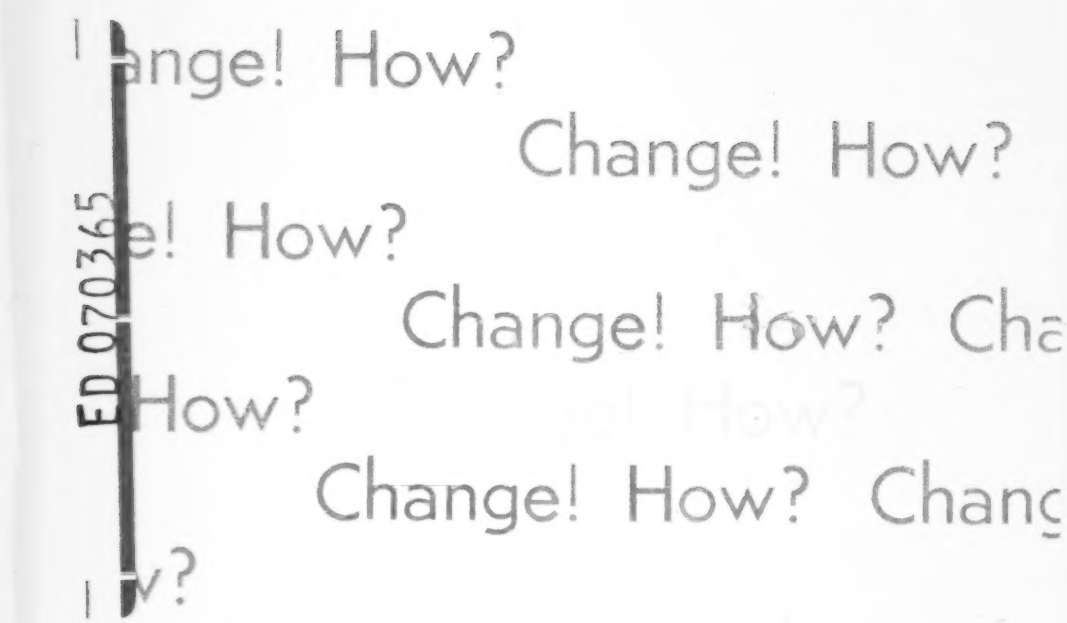
DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 070 365 HE 003 497

AUTHOR	Walker, Charles U., Ed.
TITLE	Elements Involved in Academic Change.
INSTITUTION	Association of American Colleges, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	72
NOTE	35p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Guides; *Change Agents; Conferences; *Educational Administration; *Educational Change; *Higher Education

ABSTRACT

The present document presents 3 papers that were prepared for an invitational conference on the Dynamics of Academic Change. The purpose of the conference was to develop an awareness of elements involved in bringing about academic change. The plan was for small groups of faculty and administrators to study sociological, psychological, and political elements that must be considered as one tries to effect change. In preparation for the conference, the participants were to read the 3 papers that comprise this booklet that deal with the above areas that all might have common grounds on which to begin discussion. (HS)



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Elements Involved In Academic Change

Edited by CHARLES U. WALKER

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Both the Conference on the Dynamics of Academic Change and this publication have been funded by a grant from the Louis W. and Maud Hill Family Foundation of Saint Paul, Minnesota.

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PREFACE

It is a privilege for the Association of American Colleges to publish these papers, which were prepared for a conference of Minnesota colleges inspired and organized by Charles U. Walker, then academic dean of Hamline University, now president of Russell Sage College, and funded by the Hill Family Foundation.

As President Walker says in his introduction, we hear a great deal of talk about the need for academic change but not nearly so much about the means by which such change can be brought about. In practice, however, this is surely a crucial problem. We all remember the comparison between changing a college curriculum and shifting a graveyard—not quite as generally valid, perhaps, as when it was first made, but still too close to the truth to leave us in self-complacent comfort.

For my own part, I have long dreamed of giving more time in my retirement than most of us can spare in our working life to thinking about how new ideas get generated and implemented on the college or university campus. Our problem, it seems to me, is not so much a dearth of ideas as inability to overcome roadblocks in the way of their effective adoption.

Quite apart from the fascinating philosophical implications of these three papers, I would commend them to colleges and universities as a source of strictly practical hints on surmounting the roadblocks.

FREDERIC W. NESS
President
Association of American Colleges

INTRODUCTION

Talk and more talk about the need for academic change bombards us from every direction, and pressure for instructional reform mounts both on and off the campus. We who are members of the academic establishment—both faculty and administrators—assure critics that we know change is needed and that we are not defenders of the status quo. Nonetheless behavior shows that we are sometimes unsure of ourselves, if not a little confused, when it comes to bringing about reform on the campuses we know best.

In 1970 Hamline University, where I was then Academic Dean, had just completed a review and renewal of its curriculum. My interest in the *process* was peaked, and I asked for and received a grant from the Hill Family Foundation to study the Dynamics of Academic Change and to hold a small invitational conference on the topic.

The purpose of the conference was to develop an awareness of elements involved in bringing about academic change. The plan was for small groups of faculty and administrators to study sociological, psychological, and political elements that must be considered as one tries to effect change.

All private liberal arts colleges in Minnesota were invited to send teams of four people (Academic Dean, Chairman of Educational Policies Committee, and two other faculty leaders). Each college accepting the invitation was then asked to describe a change that the institution wanted to make during the next year or two. Finally the twelve college teams participating were charged with applying the theory and pointers learned at the conference to actually bring about desired change on their home campuses.

Just prior to the sessions, the participants received copies of three papers—the same ones that have been revised slightly and now form this booklet. They were to read the essays before coming to the conference in order that all might begin with common information. JB Lon Hefferlin's paper dealt with sociological elements to be considered in making change. John Bevan's focused on the political aspects, and H. Bradley Sagen's pointed up psychological factors.

The actual conference began with the three authors critiquing each other's papers, and this led into a discussion involving all participants. The main emphasis of the conference, however, was that of providing teams with time to confer privately about their proposed changes with each of the three resource people.

After the sessions were over, Hefferlin, Bevan and Sagen continued to be available to each college team for long distance phone discussions.

Finally, a follow-up study will be conducted during the winter of 1971-72 to learn the success of the college teams in bringing about changes on their home campuses.

The orientation of the conference was toward the *HOW* of effecting change once a group has decided *WHAT* change is desired. There is no dearth of ideas about what could be changed in academe, the confusion lies in getting proposed changes accepted and implemented.

The papers in this booklet do not suggest what should be changed; instead they deal exclusively with the *process* involved in effecting change. It is hoped that this type of information will help college faculty and administrators planning reform or renewal in academic program.

Personally, I want to thank Hamline University for hosting the conference, JB Lon Hefferlin, John Bevan, and Bradley Sagen for taking part in the venture, the Hill Family Foundation for generous and all-important financial support, and the Association of American Colleges for assistance in publishing this booklet of conference papers.

CHARLES U. WALKER
President
Russell Sage College
Troy, New York

HAULING ACADEMIC TRUNKS

By JB Lon Hefferlin

"Changing the direction of an agency while it continues its day-to-day operations . . . has been likened to performing surgery on a man while he hauls a trunk upstairs."[1] This socio-physiological analogy by the historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., points out the importance of events such as the Conference on the Dynamics of Academic Change, which occasioned these papers. Special periods where policy makers can escape the imperatives of daily routine seem essential for good institutional planning. They offer a thoughtful opportunity to consider, in effect, what should be in an institution's academic trunk and to decide how best to haul it upstairs.

Jack Bevan, Bradley Sagen, and I have been charged in these three papers to help in getting the right academic baggage where it belongs. We're supposed to do two things: first, to describe the major factors involved in curricular change in higher education, and then to suggest tactics that academic reformers can use in changing the curriculum. Dr. Bevan will approach this task from the perspective of the political factors involved in institutional change; Dr. Sagen will focus on the psychological factors; and I'm supposed to emphasize the sociological factors.

Of course the subject matter and concepts of political science, psychology, and sociology are not discrete and separable from one another. Their differences relate to emphasis and perspective. A "psychological" variable such as a professor's attitude towards curricular renewal is not merely a personal phenomenon, since it has social consequences—as we all know when low individual morale becomes endemic institutional depression. Similarly, social conditions have psychological consequences, as political scientists have demonstrated from their analyses of the structure of power and feelings of powerlessness, and as we all realize when the cultural climate of an institution—its way of life—determines the characteristics of those who decide to become its members. Institutions that frown on innovation are unlikely to suffer innovators.

Thus, our three papers point to some of the same factors that we see as important in curricular change, but each from our own perspective. Jack pays particular attention to the issue of power within institutions, and Bradley describes the means of changing individual behavior and

[1] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*, 1965, page 595.

attitudes. I cannot take exception to their concerns: certainly power is a key fact of organizational life. Who has it, and in what direction it is used, have major consequences for academic change, since the college curriculum is, among other things, a political compromise between power blocs within a college over the institutionalized remains of the extracurriculum. And institutional change is always triggered by individual action and personal initiative, and thus academic reform ultimately depends upon changes in individuals—or change *of* individuals.

But from a sociological point of view, I want to suggest some factors important in academic change that are outside the direct control of a college or its members. For one benefit of a sociological or organizational perspective is to understand an institution as one part of an interdependent network of institutions and as part of a larger society and to see the influences that the larger social system have on the institution. Colleges are no more immune to the impact of competition and cultural change than any other social institution, and academic reform is a phenomenon that is affected by market factors, institutional fashions, and bandwagon pressure—as the current increase of computer science courses and the decline of physical education requirements illustrates. It's clear, for example, that the curricula of many colleges are profoundly affected by admission requirements and expectations of major graduate schools and professional schools. No matter how strenuous the cries for reform may be from within or without such a college, if the graduate schools are suspicious of collegiate innovation, collegiate innovation will be stifled—as witness the current effects of graduate school suspicion on undergraduate pass-fail grading.

Thus in discussing factors that affect academic change, I would claim that the most basic of all is the *market* for change.

The Market for Change

Colleges are naturally, inherently, antithetical to change. Like other social institutions they exist for the general purpose of routinizing behavior and providing order in human life. And thus they do not change spontaneously or when it is unnecessary to do so. Instead they change as the result of pressure—and when the rewards for change come to outweigh the liabilities. And the major reward for such service institutions as colleges is the demand within society for institutional services. As with all other organizations, they operate under market conditions: unless they can attract resources, they either involuntarily close or they adapt their services to obtain other resources. They exist in a competitive environment for resources: they must meet the competition of other institutions offering similar services; they must offer a curriculum that is attractive to prospective students and tolerable to potential faculty; and hence most of them must of necessity imitate each other.

Thus changes within American society in the demand for knowledge of particular kinds, in the availability of time and money for study, and in the expansion of knowledge itself have massive effects on American colleges. Note, for instance, the effects of the percolation of knowledge continually downward through the curriculum: the trickling of new information and ideas from graduate-school research into college teaching and, over time, then into the high schools. This "percolation" occurs as new professors carry into their undergraduate teaching their graduate school learning and as new school teachers carry into secondary and elementary education the knowledge they gained in college. Thus what was general education at the college level at the time of the 1945 Harvard report has by now seeped down into the high schools, not simply permitting but indeed requiring colleges to reorganize their general education requirements.

In short, the rationale for most undergraduate curriculum change can be traced to the fact of environmental change—to the need, as one private college explained it in planning a new calendar, "to keep pace with sister institutions and the high schools." These external changes determine the limits of innovation and the direction of successful alteration, as well as the urgency of change. A prestigious college, successful in the marketplace, may perceive no need for change—and, in fact, the success of most American colleges during the 1960's made for curricular lethargy beyond the mere expansion of the traditional disciplines. And when the holders of an institution's purse strings prefer the status quo, change will be difficult. But when students threaten to take their tuition funds to other institutions with a more exciting program, when funding agencies pour money into new fields, in short, when resources are available to institutions on the condition that they change, change may occur. Thus when an institution begins to realize it is slipping, the possibility of curriculum change increases. And where do most institutions look when they decide changes may be in order? "We looked at the catalogs of other colleges" is not an infrequent response.

In summary, the first factor in academic change seems to me to be environmental pressure: the influence of outside circumstances on a college. Among the implications of this fact for academic reformers, two seem particularly important. First, it is far easier to ride the crest of the wave of innovation than to either swim before it or against it. (January inter-sessions and the idea of cluster colleges would not now be under consideration by many colleges except for the concern of some institutions that more may be lost from not joining the movement than by joining it.) And second, to challenge the existing tide requires extraordinary effort, resolution, resources, and perseverance. (Hiram College's unique intensive-course plan survived against adversity for twenty

years, but was abandoned in 1958 by a new generation of administrators and professors unfamiliar with it and uncommitted to it.)

For better or worse, the influence of outside circumstances is not open to much manipulation by a college but only to amelioration, as by changing its publicity, recruitment, and fund-raising techniques to meet changing conditions, or when private colleges band together to try to alter state educational appropriations to include themselves. But a college can anticipate these market factors and react creatively to them in time, if its administrators, faculty, and trustees can keep informed about them and if their orientation permits adaptation.

Ethos

The next most important influence on academic change seems to me to be the historic orientation toward change of the institution and, in particular, of its most influential members—whether they be major benefactors, senior professors, or a coalition of activists. For those members with power over resources—power over the allocation of the budget, over appointments and admissions, even over information and communication—can dramatically affect a college's image, reputation, and its predisposition towards change. Let me simply term this predisposition part of the *ethos* of the institution—its dominant culture or orientation. That colleges differ in this regard is probably obvious. Most of them have a tradition of honoring tradition, while a few have a tradition of being anti-traditional. Most, in response to suggestions for change, seem in effect to repeatedly ask "Why?" while a handful tend to respond "Why not?"

Jack Bevan personifies this fact. His audacious strategy is to meet resistance to new ideas by a demand for data to support old ideas. Because of his influence, Florida Presbyterian has been one of the few American colleges with a positive predisposition toward the new. Unlike Florida Presbyterian, most colleges and universities have a predilection merely toward the respectable: they are willing only to imitate the going model of educational quality accepted by the disciplines, by their own league, or by institutions out of their league that they emulate. When the idea of interdisciplinary majors or free electives or sensitivity training no longer seems unthinkable to them but instead possibly beneficial, they adopt them. Their motto and standard operating principle might well be what F. M. Cornford dubbed the first law of academic life: "Nothing should ever be done for the first time."[2]

Of course the most recalcitrant institutions share an unmistakable predilection for the past. The leaders of such an institution—Wheaton College in Illinois, for example—believe that other colleges have deserted

[2] F. M. Cornford, *Microcosmographia Academica: Being a Guide for the Young Academic Politician*. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1908. Fifth edition, 1953, page 15.

their historical responsibility and that it alone remains as virtually the last bastion of truth: that without the survival of its rituals, civilization as it has endured would collapse. With this orientation—where only the past is sacred and pure, the present is threatening, and the future is dark and foreboding—to give into modernism would mean dissolution and decay. Thus any change of standards necessarily seems a lowering of standards—a soiling of the noble tradition with the evils of the present.

The orientation towards change of the dominant members of an institution, as you can imagine, is self-perpetuating, since those with power tend to seek other members with similar predispositions who will thereby reinforce this attitude. For instance, the administrators of a small Ohio college of my acquaintance have somehow become convinced that its problem of student drinking, rebellion, and sex have stemmed from its brightest students. Having equated academic ability with deviant behavior, the administration has been rejecting for admission the brightest of the prospective freshmen in order to keep the institution conventionally mediocre. And the significance of ethos for academic change has been illustrated by Dwight Ladd's recent findings regarding the results of self-studies at fourteen American colleges and universities during the past decade. He concludes that unless a faculty is already convinced that some change is desirable *even before* the self-study begins, there is little hope that the study will be anything more than busy-work in terms of fundamental change.[3]

Among the implications for academic reform of institutional ethos is the fact that this ethos attracts those members committed to it and repels others. At an institution traditionally resistant to nonconventional curricular innovation, controlled by individuals who have no intention of permitting deviance or of being persuaded to change, a creative professor may continue to improve his own courses but, sensing that nothing is to be gained from advocating broader curricular reform, he will seldom champion institution-wide renewal. He will find it easier to leave or to turn to time-serving or to alcohol rather than to attempt change. Thus where neither market pressures, monetary rewards, nor encouragement or applause exist for curricular alteration, is it any wonder that the curriculum petrifies?

Institutional ethos is the sum of individual attitudes, and as Bradley Sagen points out, individual attitudes can be changed and people can be educated to be more open to change. I endorse all of the methods he advocates for influencing attitudes and ethos, but I must note that the technique of changing individual attitudes has rarely been the way curricular change has occurred in higher education. Rather than chang-

[3] Dwight Ladd, *Change in Educational Policy*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970, page 200.

ing attitudes, we've relied on replacing people. Just as few students want to be educated against their will, so few faculty members care to be re-educated. They are educators in the first place because they believe they are worth emulating. And thus the most common technique of altering the curriculum has been to allow the inevitable process of faculty resignation, retirement, and death to take its toll and then to appoint new professors to introduce new ideas. When the professor of Greek retires, Greek is quietly discontinued and a bio-chemist is hired instead. When Beloit failed to implement its self-study of 1951, it waited until the most resistant opponents had retired and then implemented changes in 1962. And at a small Michigan college a few years ago, a group of Young Turk faculty members realized that the Committee on Committees controlled immense influence through its power of appointment to other college committees. Agreeing quietly among themselves to block vote their own candidates onto this committee, they captured this stronghold and used it to infiltrate the remaining committees.

In short, to change the ethos of an institution, you can try to change the attitudes of influential members by pointing out unmet opportunities, potential rewards, and the fact that all is not well, or you can change the balance of power through changes of personnel. You can also help make an institution more amenable to change by altering the very structure of the organization itself. Since individual behavior can be altered by varying the conditions of work—and since people can be more creative with fewer restrictions—let me point to some of these conditions that affect life within a college and that may affect the possibility of change.

Institutional Structure

Here are some questions about the structure of your institution, together with the reasons why these structural facts may need attention.

—How many hurdles must be jumped before any curricular proposal can be adopted? (For example, does a new course require not only the approval of the department and the division but of the Curriculum Committee, and Educational Policy Committee, or the total faculty?) Standing curriculum committees are the burying ground of educational reform: they and other hurdles exist for the purpose of restricting academic change so that the curriculum won't "get out of hand."

—Does any route of appeal exist from a negative vote by any of these hurdles? That is, once an idea is killed by one body, can it possibly be resurrected elsewhere? (Most curriculum committees quietly dispose of such ideas by never reporting their negative votes to the faculty—only their positive endorsement.)

—How many regulations does your institution have to assure no untoward alterations? For instance, is it mandatory that professors hold a

final examination, or report their absence from a class session to their superior officer, or use a specific syllabus or text? (Some college's personnel policies are so detailed in trying to protect against incompetence that they result instead in driving away the competent.) Do departments have much discretion regarding their own budget? Are any discretionary funds available for departmental and individual use, or does the administration suspect that petty cash will lead to petty thievery? (In terms of permitting individual discretion, you can probably imagine the ethos of the small Wisconsin college that states "All mail addressed to dormitory residents must pass through the hands of the dean or his assistants. This rule is necessary in order to guard against the influence of unscrupulous persons and concerns who attempt to reach students with their demoralizing letters and printed matter. Parents and guardians, in enrolling pupils at this institution, automatically give their consent to this rule.")

—How centralized is decision-making regarding the curriculum? For example, does the curriculum committee consist of only department chairmen? Is power within the institution based primarily on seniority and vested either in an autocracy or a geriatric oligarchy—where department chairmen remain in office indefinitely until they retire as professors, and where members of the governing board tend to fall asleep from old age at board meetings? In this connection, are newcomers to the faculty permitted to vote on curricular matters, or must they wait before gaining this privilege? (Such a patriarchal structure effectively prevents the emergence of whipper-snapper ideas.)

—At the other extreme, must every curricular decision meet the approval of the total faculty before implementation? (Some faculties seem suspicious of diversity and fearful of freedom: they restrict the number of electives open to students for fear advisors will lure advisees into their own courses.) And can the faculty prohibit any addition to the curriculum, even against the wishes of the trustees? (The natural tendency of any vested interest is to perpetuate its own interest.)

—And how are outsiders used in curricular planning? How frequently are outside experts invited to campus to discuss academic issues, and how widely do faculty members travel to learn what's happening elsewhere? Are students treated as naive and immature, unable to design their own curricula in cooperation with their own advisor? And are trustees viewed as unknowing and therefore incapable of correct educational decisions, or do they share in educational planning? (Insulation from outside ideas protects provincialism.)

As you can guess, these structural facts affect individual initiative: they can communicate the message "mind your own business" and "keep your place." And this, in essence, is the ethos of bureaucracy.

After serving as a chancellor in the University of California, Samuel Gould complained, "We all had to march in squads," and he consequently sought to make the State University of New York less bureaucratic. But bureaucratic rigidity is not limited to multiversities: it can afflict the smallest of colleges. Eliminating restrictive rules and bureaucratic policies can stimulate greater and more continuous academic change. It will lead to greater diversity within the institution and encourage a "broken-front" approach to curricular alteration. With this approach an institution undertakes evolutionary, piece-meal, exploratory change, instead of amending the curriculum only as the result of massive self-study and only after ten years' experience and in anticipation of the impending visit of the accrediting association. To my mind, this is all to the good since the best curriculum from my perspective is an evolving curriculum: flexible, adaptive, responsive.

While changes in the market, in an institution's ethos, and in its structure can have a cumulative effect in stimulating this type of curricular renewal, their impact is not necessarily immediate. Altering them will affect the curriculum in future years but it may not improve next year's program. In the meantime, you will need to try to get new curricular ideas adopted. And so in conclusion let me point to several tactics that seem to me worth your consideration in helping implement whatever changes you desire.

Techniques of Change

Determine the Obstacles: Not all academics are skillful at the political process of implementing ideas. We may be adept verbally but unsophisticated politically. And politically the first priority seems to me to be that of analyzing the obstacles to implementation. What are they? Where are they? Who are they? Are they primarily external or internal? Are they largely the lack of information about educational needs and thus principally apathy and indifference? Or does the proposed change actually threaten some—however seemingly irrationally—either because of difference of educational philosophy or of insecure status and power? If interests are indeed threatened, how can threat be assuaged? What opposition must be considered, mollified, conciliated, co-opted, or possibly confronted if the new idea is to succeed?

Provide Reassurance: Avoid unnecessary opposition by being clear about the idea and your activities. Regardless of how hard you try, distortion, misunderstanding, and resulting suspicion are almost inevitable. They require attention. At a midwestern college several years ago, the faculty began to suspect that an ad-hoc committee on the college calendar was going to spring a trimester plan on them, and thus rejected out of hand the committee's recommendation calling only for the adoption of a quarter system with no summer quarter. A few years

earlier, the Michigan State University faculty had put the kibosh on a major educational proposal dubbed "Project X" that the provost had tried to keep secret while conducting foundation negotiations. Thus disclosure seems a better policy than secrecy. For instance, if committee minutes are regularly distributed to the faculty, they may remain unread but at least the faculty will not feel ignored.

Build on Existing Concerns: Some self-study committees get off on the wrong foot by trying first of all to rewrite the opening pages of the college catalog. After six months of increasingly divisive debate over the statement of institutional goals, they give up on everything significant. In contrast, some other institutions begin pragmatically by attacking the problems that are perceived as most urgent by the members of the institution—whether the problem be over-prescription of requirements, irrelevance of courses, or simply access to library books. From these immediate issues a committee can expand its concerns, having won support for its own interests by serving the interests of others. And as Arthur Schlesinger warned, don't require an already busy standing committee to undertake any extraordinary effort. Set up ad-hoc groups for ad-hoc issues. Thus some institutions wisely adopt a task-force approach: permitting the participation of all interested individuals and, if necessary, finding work for them, rather than excluding them from helping. Knowing that the alumni and overseers of Harvard were interested in the designing of the Harvard houses, for example, President A. Lawrence Lowell—one of the foxiest tacticians in the history of American college presidents—invited some of the most concerned of them to serve on an advisory committee. While he and the faculty leaders made the major design decisions in collaboration with the architects, the advisory committee happily debated the most appropriate size of the dining tables for the new houses—whether for two, four, six, or eight—in order to stimulate the most effective dinner conversation.

Avoid Rejection: Blunt the opposition, if necessary, by proposing your change only for an experimental period such as two or three years—thus assuring opponents that it will be eventually evaluated and thereby possibly gaining their grudging toleration. Harvard adopted its general education program on this basis: from October, 1945, until March, 1949, it was on trial and only afterward adopted on a continuing basis; and more recently, Harvard used the same tactics to implement its freshman seminar program. Moreover, if you can't win support for altering the present program even on an experimental basis, try to get permission for creating an optional parallel program. Thus if neither the history department nor the science departments are interested in the history of science, try to create a separate department for it. If the several departments won't permit majors based on other than disciplinary concerns—human problems, for instance, like

urbanism, historical periods like Medieval studies, or cultural areas like Latin America, create separate programs in these areas. If the total faculty won't consider a calendar of intensive courses, such as Colorado College has introduced following up Hiram's earlier attempt—where students take one course at a time before moving on to another course—win acceptance for at least some students and professors to try the idea, as Alan Westin and his associates at Columbia are now doing in an intensive course on American civil liberties.

Respect the Past: Finally, try to be as traditional as possible in implementing change. Nothing is gained by alienating your opposition. Thus point out all the pedigrees and precedents of your idea so that it does not appear to be unique in the history of higher education. Solicit endorsement from outside experts to give it respectability. (Foundation grants provide such a blessing, of course, as does the fact of adoption by another respected institution.) And appear conservative. Remember A. Lawrence Lowell's advice regarding the college president:

> If he desires to innovate he will be greatly helped by having the reputaton of being conservative, because the radicals who want a change are little offended by the fact of change, while the conservatives will be likely to follow him because they look on him as sharing their temperament and point of view.[4]

Lowell realized that most radicals defeat their own ends by alienating their needed allies. Thus during all of his extensive reforms at Harvard, no one could accuse him of radicalism. Everyone recognized that he had no intention of destroying Harvard. He could, in short, be trusted.

These techniques—scouting out obstacles, providing reassurance, reducing opposition, avoiding rejection, and retaining support—along with others that Jack and Bradley will be suggesting from their own experience, may hopefully make your efforts at academic reform successful. Returning to Arthur Schlesinger's analogy of trunks and operations, I hope that because of them you'll not only be able to decide that the trunk indeed should go upstairs, rather than into the basement or the garage, but also be able to get it there—possibly with aspirin, maybe with hot packs, if necessary with medication—but not with surgery.

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[4] A. Lawrence Lowell, *What A University President Has Learned.* New York: Macmillan Company, 1938, page 22.

SOME POLITICS IN CHANGE

By John M. Bevan

"The centipede was happy quite
Until a toad in fun
Said, 'Pray which leg goes after which?'
This worked his mind to such a pitch
He lay distracted in a ditch
Considering how to run."

Zen

Never before in the history of higher education in these United States have colleges and universities exhibited a stranger potpourri of incongruous and discordant elements and sounds. Yet never before have these same "buttresses" of the social order been composed of a more competent and concerned body of students, a more sophisticated, and a more knowledgeable faculty. It is as if the crippling sensations of paranoia engulf the atmosphere and each party in academe is posed threateningly. *Et tu, Brute.*

The etiologies advanced for these inflamed circumstances are confused, but easily catalogued: alienation, affluency, authority, coercion, conspiracy, depersonalization, indifference, irrelevance, hypocrisy, preponderance of research, poor teaching, politics, prejudice, liberal and conservative radicalism, suppression, urbanization, war, etc. Debates on origin and outcome proceed and in the crescendos of impassioned exchange one matter is certain: never before in the history of higher education in the United States have there erupted from so many quarters greater expectations for *change*. But!—To what? Why? How? How soon? Who says so?

Admittedly these questions are asked in strained tones, and there are no easy answers. Much depends on the situation and every situation has its differences. However, and in order to make headway in our discussion, it is best probably to proceed first with a few general statements, working toward specifics that might find applicable expression in most situations. Allow me then to share certain observations in which hopefully we might agree:

1) A critical state of unrest exists in society and is most sharply mirrored in its young people who are gathered in increasing numbers on college and university campuses. For the most part, this unrest is seen in the new youth culture's expression of disdain, challenge, and open rebellion directed toward the disruption and reform of established

academic institutions. Conceivably it is a manifestation of unprecedented concern by students for the health and strength of these institutions and society. Or it could be a reaction to unsatisfied intellectual and emotional needs for which society and the university have failed to provide supportive learning structures, *i.e.*, to stay abreast of changing youth in changing times. Furthermore, since these youth regard institutions of higher learning as belonging to them and de facto holding society's only hope for escape from the morass of strangling entanglements, they assume that reform in academic program and format may ultimately give issue to reform in society.

2) It is recognized that institutions of higher learning are becoming power centers, whereas previously they supported and in turn were supported by the church, the state, the corporation, or whatever else happened to be the established order of the day.[1] As Galbraith has pointed out in his book *The New Industrial State*, the bases of power over the centuries have shifted from land, to capital, and now to knowledge. In a fast encroaching technotronic society it may be that knowledge becomes the only basis for the maintenance and enhancement of control essential to the evolution and growth of that society nestled between atomic hardware and cybernetic affluence. Such being the case, the search for meaning is central and urgent. A huge reevaluation of the goals and values of society is called for. Who am I? Where am I going? Who are we? Where are we going? are questions focused on most severely. Is it any wonder the students who believe in colleges and universities as truth-telling and truth-seeking institutions regard it of vital importance what truth is sought, what questions are asked. Is it any wonder that demands for priority listings are everyday occurrences on campuses throughout the land. And at this point the power struggle within the university converges, because answers to these questions define the university and colleges and the roles they play. It is at this point that the crisis in authority among faculty, students, and administrators emerges with each exerting power frequently to its own end, with each frequently making choices based on power rather than on educational theory or knowledge, with each frequently forgetting that "institutional authority must be evaluated in the light of educational goals."[2]

It is gradually becoming clear, though through the glass darkly, that in the 1970's there will be more faculty members and administrators cognizant of what is at stake, recognizing the students for what they are and are becoming, seeing the university as a power center with an

[1] Dwight Waldo, *The University as a Power Center*. Educational Record, Vol. 50, Number 3, (Summer 1969), page 279.

[2] Nevitt Sanford, *The Campus Crisis in Authority*. Educational Record, Vol. 51, Number 2, (Spring 1970), page 112.

evermore broadening circle of influence, and accepting the need of the university to lead in the exploration and development of new approaches to human cooperation.

3) If the above observations and projections approach accuracy, then we are thrown inevitably into the lap of a "taken for granted" concept—*the university as community*. The university or college is viewed once more as a group or groups of persons living together and having common interests, needs, and concerns: to know how to understand, not just how to think; to distinguish fact and interpretation, the probable and dubious, the descriptive and normative; to love what is noble in human life; to be moved by what is honorable, tragic, pitiable, and to feel the complexity of the release and constraint of good and evil and truth and error—the primary skills of being human beings. As titillating as this may appear, our circumstances and young folk make attainment of these aspirations necessary in order to escape the cacophonous fix in which the university finds itself. It is recognized that many of the divisive forces that work against community appear in the patterns of subcultures existing on campuses. Sociologists identify some of these subcultures as professional and organizational and link them to every discipline on campus. They have their own canons of membership and success and in scope are regional, national, and international. They are supported and perpetuated by graduate school training, professional meetings, and professional journals. From outside they bring to the campus new codes of values, standards, and norms. Professors within their grasp confess to the development of major and graduate students as the primary aim in all that they do. As a result communities of learning become hopelessly entwined in organizational subcultures in which (a) the professor is no longer a model but a boss and manager of novice specialists; (b) the professor becomes an indistinguishable part of the apparatus of examinations, grades, certificates; (c) the professor becomes a headhunter insisting upon devotion to ceremonial duties and status privileges. The domination of the scene by such subcultures undermines the broad base of intellectual and emotional experience essential to the definition of community—a definition which in translation holds to the belief that it is from the professor that students take their vision of the relation of ideas to life. But if the lives of the learned seem to show that the knowledge they pursue has no relation to wisdom and that learning does not enhance humanity, then the appropriateness of the entire enterprise is brought into question.

Let me make a further observation, one that will zoom us back to a less mimetic circumstance. It should be recognized that the university reflects a social, not political, revolution taking place in today's society. And in such revolutions, the politics, psychology, and the

sociology are linked so tightly as to be indiscernable. But for the sake of continuous discourse bearing on the politics of change, let me define politics as the use of power by individuals, groups, or institutions to define strategies to serve ends desired, such as changes in curriculum, administrative structure, and student life program.

Let it be understood also that in our conversation we are not abandoning our roles as educators to assume the roles of politicians, even though there is much political about institutions of higher learning. The model we are talking about is an educational model, not a political model. Now with this before us a few statements supportive of an attitude and climate conducive to change are in order.

A Climate Conducive to Change

First, it *should be safe to assume* that the aims and goals of the institution are defined and can be clearly articulated by the chief officers, all department chairmen, all professors, and are enough a part of regular conversation that no student could fail to comprehend what the institution is all about and where it is going. Because if this is not the case then any effort at innovation can be little less than misdirected enthusiasm. Institutions of higher learning are different and the differences should be attributable primarily to differences in educational philosophy. Why a Classical Education approach? Why a Liberal Arts approach? Why a Disciplinary approach? Why a Technocratic Education approach? Somehow the priorities are ordered by the philosophical approach and shifts in approach usually rearrange priorities and correlated programs.

Secondly, it *should be safe to assume* that a statement of academic governance has been elaborated and confirmed by each party of the academic community. A statement of this nature might read as follows:

> That the administrative authority, regardless of formal or legal structure, consists of what is willingly delegated to it by personnel within the organization;
>
> That the primary body within this organization of governance is the faculties, who function responsibly through representative channels and designated institutional officers;
>
> That the secondary body within this organization of governance is the students who function responsibly through representative channels and designated institutional officers;
>
> That both the faculties as a body and the students as a body are interested in assuming and coordinating leadership in governance and can be educated in such leadership and coordination;

> That effective and efficient governance is attainable only when proper channels of communication and coordination between all elements of the structure are adequately defined and implemented—making necessary the definition of role and function of respective officers and bodies within the organization.
>
> That the end result of such a process is the maintenance and enhancement of a productive morale—a condition or attitude in which individuals and representative groups make a reasonable subordination of their personal objectives to the overall objectives of the institution essential to which are feelings of mutual respect, a sense of common task, a recognition of the role of politics, debate, understanding, patience, and due process;
>
> That the basis of good government is ultimately the quality and character of the power that exists in and between the persons and groups within the organization;
>
> That once policy and roles are defined, the institutional officers be given the authority to exercise their responsibility, be charged to create a climate conducive to scholarship and the search for the truth of meaning, and to articulate goals and processes that unite all elements of academic governance in the pursuit of objectives worthy of the best efforts of all who participate productively.[3]

Such a document rigorously formulated, periodically reviewed, and exhibited conspicuously may be the best guarantee against external and internal forces which would impede appropriate innovative thrusts.

Thirdly, it *should be safe to assume* that the leaders of the institution are aggressive and responsive to the needs of the situation. They were chosen because of the values and goals they hold, the ones it is believed the institution should pursue. They accept the campus as a political entity, recognize that authority is delegated from within and without, and exercise their power only as a means for attaining institutional goals, not for personal aggrandizement. Most importantly, they are perpetrators of conflict because conflict over goals is the basis of the political process. Their strategy is openness, debate and respect for the opinions of others. They do not practice "harmony" at any price, exchange principle for position, or suffer from the infantile neuroses requiring love as a response from everyone. And with the best faculty and staff that can be assembled they push for a program that exploits judiciously the highest potentials of their staff, realizing that

[3] John M. Bevan, *Experimentation and Innovation in the Liberal Arts Curriculum*. Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Conference of Academic Deans (January 13, 1969), page 15.

as leaders it is their responsibility to serve as catalysts in the attainment of the goals defined.

Fourthly, *it should be safe to assume* that the educational model would be structured along the lines of a democratic format allowing power to be shared. In this day and age we are free, at least in the educational arena, of administrative autocrats or oligarchical juntos. Each political party within academe now realizes only too well that it must embrace somehow the other, still maintaining a certain degree of autonomy but opening up its policy-making bodies at least to token membership from the other parties, *i.e.*, faculty members on all or most administrative and student boards and committees, students on all or most administrative and faculty board and committees, administrators on all or most faculty and student boards and committees. But yet, *maybe* it is safe to assume that a university or college council with equal representation from all parties could manage more satisfactorily and effectively the entire community.

Finally, it is important to call attention to language. Too often it is said that the various parties of the university fail to understand each other. If this is true then it is either that each party has its own language, or that each holds from the other pertinent information necessary for understanding. It would appear that some of both is the case. However, too frequently administrators speak in "business-like" jargon, faculties favor scientific rhetoric, while students expound in the language of the poet—in a fashion that recalls in style and subject the Wisdom Literature.

Planning Change

The atmosphere around the university is charged and the 1970's will be the launching period for many changes in curriculum, in structure, in governance. Unfortunately for some institutions it will mean merely the expression of dissatisfaction on paper and also a desire for change on paper, but no immediate action. For other institutions the dissatisfaction will erupt into action, most likely because of a pronouncement made by a college or university president who is confident of the backing of his Board of Trustees. The prexy may be reacting to his own insights, to economic pressures, to student insistence, or to a combination of all three. Only in a rare instance will the impetus arise out of the primary body, the faculty—and the reasons this is the case have been repeated too often to be repeated.

Next comes the *modus operandi* which by now is almost standardized. A committee of 12 to 15 key faculty and students, two to one, are seclected or elected and directed to recommend redefining, restructuring—and reform. A year is allocated for study during which time the members read educational journals, survey colleagues for ideas, correspond

with and make trips to campuses where change has occurred, retain "sociological strangers" who visit and are called on for counsel, etc. Ordinarily one faculty member is relieved of some or all of his teaching and research responsibilities to act as recorder and/or director.

Whereas the committee members met regularly during the entire school year, during the summer that follows they are engaged for eight to ten weeks on a full-time basis. Their responsibility at this stage is to complete a master plan before the opening of the fall term and to have it in manuscript form for distribution to the faculty. Very likely the faculty will be assembled several days before the first classes begin to hear the projected new plan presented and discussed. Where a university or college senate exists it is made clear that it will be the party making final alterations, balloting to reject or to endorse. Where direct democratic procedures are the practice, the majority vote of the entire faculty will be binding. Announcement is made that a final determination must be reached within six months. Rounds of discussion and debate ensue, sometimes staged. If the decision is favorable, implementation begins immediately for initial phasing to take place by the approach of September. In the meantime the Admissions Office has been telling new recruits of the wonderful things to come and the Public Relations Office has kept the alumni posted through its monthly bulletin. All in all, two years have transpired from the date of pronouncement to the earliest phasing of what one hopes is a program "reformed."

And why is it that in some such situations genuine reform takes place and in others the results resemble a "bad pass" or a mere "repackaging ploy." There seems to be a difference. Usually efforts at reform are fruitful:

> When faculty members understand that change is needed and expected, know they have an opportunity for input, receive a response to their suggestions, and are sufficiently rewarded for the extra energies required;
>
> Where the study exhibits a momentum, time limits for decisions are met and successive stagings proceed;
>
> Where the chairman of the study committee is relieved of his other professional responsibilities so he might devote full time to recording, assimilating, and preparing materials while engineering the process;
>
> Where sufficient monies are available for travel to explore program changes at other colleges and universities and to bring in needed consultants;
>
> Where rules, regulations, and requirements are codified and time is not lost in guessing about such matters;

Where confrontation is the posture of the committee, where opposition is encouraged and openly pursued, where resistance to new ideas is met by demand for data to support old ideas, and where a process of evaluation of what is recommended is programmed to be pursued;

Where there has been turnover every five to ten years in the offices of the dean and the department chairmen, and where there is a serious effort to train both faculty and students in academic leadership;

Where serious effort is made to encourage innovation, and monies are budgeted annually for that purpose;

Where there is a sense of mission—the feeling that what is accomplished might be interesting to, and have meaning for, other institutions similarly situated and similarly constituted;

Where there is a sense of community—where faculty, students, and administrators exhibit common concerns and extol each other for evidences of flexibility and mutual effort;

Where there is enough dynamics and charisma in the leadership to warrant confidence to want to risk experimentation and innovation.

Failure occurs when the antithesis of the above holds true, as well as:

When efforts at change are all too modest—attack at one point now and the other twenty-five when agreement is reached by everyone as to how to deal with the one;

When members of the study committee are "delegates" who neither think for themselves nor have the courage to venture an idea independently, who represent vested interests;

When discussions of concepts are easily diverted to arguments of privilege and procedure—"Yes, but first, I want to know how it's going to work." "Here!" "Here!" the response;

Where "harmony" is the posture of the committee and the direct democratic procedure is employed for final definition and decisions;

Where the faculty allows the catalogue to control the program rather than regarding the program as a dynamic model controlled by the faculty.

Finally, what do we do to ensure continued review and reform. This is impossible to answer for every situation, but maybe the answer is somewhere to be found in providing a structure and a *modus vivendi* which reinforces community and maintains and enhances cooperatively the

autonomy and power of the parties so vital to the enterprise. And if we think in terms of an educational community, then it is important that we deal in styles befitting an educational "power" model, *i.e.*, embracing a model which espouses openness and not secrecy, truth and understanding and not misinformation, trust and not suspicion, full participation and not minimal compliance, the use of conflict for creative cooperation and not for control and spoils, the sharing of power by all parties to the mutual benefit of all parties and not balance of power. Even the thought of implementing change within the definition of such a model sounds risky (if not different), but it seems that our days call for risk students, risk faculties, and risk administrators. *Fugit hora.*

ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM IS NOT ENOUGH

By H. Bradley Sagen

I share many of the views of concerned individuals, such as Hefferlin,[1] who have proposed substantial reform in academic governance and decision-making. But organizational reform is only the first step. To effect genuine academic improvement not only the structure of the institution but the personal commitments of the members must change. This fundamental conclusion is based upon several characteristics of higher educational institutions:

1) Colleges and universities, despite their growing complexity, are basically normative organizations. Individual commitment to the organization results from the intrinsic value of the enterprise rather than from the extrinsic rewards associated with membership. While many students and faculty do use colleges and universitites for economic and other extrinsic gains, the basic nature of the organization derives in large measure from the values of its members.

2) The "process" of education, particularly Liberal Education, requires not only personal commitment from faculty and students, it requires also a great deal of autonomy. Removal of this autonomy through "organizational reform" would prevent institutions from achieving the very educational goals which innovation is designed to enhance.

3) Educational decision-making should reflect a humanizing concept of education. Participants should focus upon educational alternatives as opportunities for personal growth for themselves and for co-participants. Under these conditions individuals innovate, not by reluctantly accepting conditions imposed from without, but by freely adopting changes to which they have made a personal commitment.

Strategies of Change

These assumptions about higher education also describe a more general class of change strategies we shall call "participant involvement." Participant involvement strategies assume that change will be most effective when each participant makes a personal commitment to the change. Commitment is gained through participation in the decision-making process and through programs of "re-education" in which participants clarify and, where appropriate to them, change their value

[1] JB Lon Hefferlin, *Dynamics of Academic Reform*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969.

orientation toward the proposed change. (In contrast, another general class of strategies, "power-coercive," assumes power to be located in the hands of a few, e.g., "management" who achieve change by manipulating organizational conditions such as rewards, sanctions, sources of information, and relationships among participants.)

Far from ignoring the organizational structure, participant involvement strategies emphasize that only under appropriate conditions will most members of an organization respond affirmatively to the challenges of innovation. Participant involvement requires a setting in which: a) threats to security, acceptance, self-esteem, and autonomy may be reduced, b) values regarding the proposed change may be clarified and sometimes altered, and c) competencies necessary to success in the new situation may be developed.

There are, however, limitations to participant involvement which are sometimes ignored in academic decision-making. One limitation is that educational institutions exist to carry out societal functions for which they are accountable. Faculty autonomy is limited to decisions regarding the implementation of these functions and is subject to evaluation by appropriate authorities. A second and more immediate problem is that group involvement sometimes restricts legitimate individual initiative. In some measure, therefore, the organization must protect innovative faculty from other faculty.

The blunt fact is that conditions appropriate to effective faculty involvement are not now present in most colleges and universities, and organizational reform is necessary before faculty will consider the possibility of major innovations. I, therefore, favor reforms which will encourage all faculty to consider and to experiment with innovation. As a proponent of participant involvement, however, I would object strenuously to institutional modifications which might enable a few to achieve or to restrict innovation by manipulating or coercing others.

Having attempted to relate my remarks to the topics assigned my colleagues Bevan and Hefferlin I leave the necessary first step of organizational reform to them and shall instead try to suggest additional principles for accomplishing innovation through involvement of faculty and other participants. The remainder of the paper will first examine some of the conditions which affect innovation, then analyze the decision-making process itself.

Major Conditions Affecting the Adoption of Academic Innovations

Five major conditions affecting the adoption of academic innovations are: institutional support for innovation (norms and rewards), compatibility of the proposed innovation with the values held by parti-

cipants, perceptions of the present situation, the "side effects" of innovation, and communication.

Institutional Support for Innovations: Norms and Rewards: In addition to the effect of specific attitudes toward each proposed change, the probability of innovation is influenced by general institutional norms toward "innovativeness" as an activity.

Faculty norms at most institutions emphasize allegiance to a specific discipline and to education as the transmission of subject matter. The norms also assume the faculty member to be an independent professional who contracts with the institution for his services. The faculty prefer a collegial or consensual mode of decision-making which respects the domain of each faculty member and his academic area. These views tend to preclude innovation as an outgrowth of educational commitments, or as an organized activity of the faculty. The norms are enforced through faculty prestige granted by colleagues who share these norms and through a reward system which is usually controlled by faculty or their administrative representatives.

In counteracting institutional norms, "support from the top" is of major importance.[2] In some instances top administrators wisely shy away from a commitment to specific innovations for fear of making the decision to adopt or reject a vote of confidence in themselves. Trustees also have generally refrained from imposing specific educational decisions upon faculty or other groups. But these constraints should not affect a basic commitment to innovation as a recognized institutional function.

Innovation can be encouraged in a variety of ways without impinging upon the necessary autonomy of faculty and students. Innovation can be recognized as a legitimate activity and funds budgeted for it. Designating funds for innovation as an activity is an important tool not only for the direct returns but for the symbolic commitment which an allocation of resources communicates.

Since no one group—faculty, students, administrators, trustees—is necessarily a force for change,[3] another major strategy is to develop coalitions of innovative participants across traditional academic boundaries (a substantial innovation itself). Because of subject matter traditions and other institutional constraints, coalitions of this type seldom occur without substantial encouragement.

The nature of faculty reward systems is such that the rewards, if any, for innovation are typically personal in nature. Institutions, however,

[2] R. A. Davis, *Personal and Organizational Variables Related to the Adoption of Educational Innovations in Liberal Arts Colleges.* Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Chicago, 1965.

[3] C. R. Pace, "Interactions Among Academic, Administrative, and Student Subcultures." in Lunsford, T. F. (Ed.) *The Study of Campus Cultures.* Boulder, Colo.: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1963, pages 55-80.

can offer incentives to faculty who are willing to promote or to adopt innovation. Reimbursement for expenses and increased secretarial and student assistant allocations may at least insure that those who are open to innovation do not have to pay an additional price for their efforts.

Time is perhaps a faculty member's most precious commodity, and faculty are not likely to be drawn to any activity which greatly increases demands upon their time. Reduction of competing demands; e.g., for research, is a long-range solution, but provision for released time for those willing to design and adopt innovations is a more realistic solution. Released time may also be the best use of funds for educational improvement. For example, raising the student-faculty ratio and allocating the equivalent funds to released time for innovation may result in more significant educational outcomes than would occur from maintaining the present ratio.

Increased status with colleagues through the visibility of an innovative program is another potential reward for faculty. Faculty should be provided with the resources to evaluate their innovations and to disseminate the results. Publications resulting from innovative programs provide visibility not only for the author but for other faculty and the college as well.

Compatability of the Proposed Innovation With Values Held by Participants: A basic reason for the failure of many academic innovations is the perceived incompatability between the innovation and the basic values held by faculty. A related reason for failure is the difficulty of constructing proposals which are compatible with the wide range of attitudes often held by various groups. The most obvious implication of compatability is that to win adoption and commitment, innovations must be designed to fall within the "zone of acceptance" of the major values of participants. Awareness of this fact perhaps accounts for the "something for everybody" character of many proposals, but given the need for personal commitment from all participants a strategic compromise usually yields better results than does annihilating the opposition.

Another step toward establishing compatability is to make explicit the values actually held by faculty. Persuading faculty to explore their educational values is of course easier said than done. However, this is one area where faculty can and should be held accountable for their views. Conditions can be created in which faculty must state publicly their educational values. Faculty can be required to state course, program, and institutional objectives in *operational terms* through syllabi, program descriptions, etc. Faculty can also be requested to describe their program aims at faculty meetings and to groups of students, trustees and other constituencies of the institution. If accountability can be established then "participant-involvement" tactics such as semi-

nars, retreats, and individual consultations can be initiated to assist faculty in defining their educational aims and commitments.

Clarification of values serves also to prepare participants for more effective decision-making which itself is a goal of many change strategies. As Max Wise concluded ". . .most college faculties are clearer about the profession of scholar rather than of teacher and are almost totally unprepared to participate in thoughtful consideration of educational policy and institutional purposes."[4]

Perception of the Present Situation: Innovations are seldom adopted on their absolute merits. They are instead evaluated on their potential for improving the current situation.[5] Systematic dissemination of accurate knowledge about the present situation is thus an important stimulus to innovation.

Information about current conditions may be gathered through studies of achievement, attitude surveys, etc. Several standardized instruments such as the ETS *Institutional Research Program for Higher Education* and various research instruments available from the American College Testing Program provide important comparative data as well as local information.

Faculty should be encouraged to broaden their contacts with similar institutions to provide a better base for judging the quality of current practices and the potential effectiveness of proposed changes. Faculty having contact with other institutions tend to judge the quality of present practice against more cosmopolitan standards, rather than from narrow traditional commitments to the local institution.[6]

The Side Effects of Innovation: My personal observation is that faculty are influenced more by the possible "side effects" of a proposed innovation than by the possibility of significant educational improvements. The primary concern is not, will this innovation improve our educational program. Rather it is, how will adoption of this innovation affect such things as: my chances of promotion, my workload, the number of majors in my field, and the chances of gaining an additional faculty position for our department.

Proponents of participant involvement strategies cannot ignore these concerns, but they can insist upon the norm of openness in decision-making. In many instances a major source of anxiety and increased resistance to innovation has been the lack of information regarding possi-

[4] W. M. Wise, *The Politics of the Private College*, New Haven, Conn.: The Hazen Foundation, 1968, page 49.
[5] R. I. Evans, *Resistance to Innovation in Higher Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968, page 16.
[6] R. I. Evans, *Resistance to Innovation in Higher Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968.

ble outcomes.[7] Transmission of all pertinent information about the anticipated consequences of change and adequate discussion of their implications will reduce faculty anxiety and will open what is usually a "hidden agenda" in innovation.

To faculty, especially, a major threat of innovation is the perceived lack of competencies necessary to success in the new situation.[8] Among formal organizations, higher education institutions are perhaps the worst offenders in failing to provide for in-service development of staff. A request for adoption of an innovation should in turn be accompanied by a commitment that every effort will be made to help faculty attain the competencies required to function effectively in the new situation.

The resistance to innovation caused by anxiety regarding potential side effects suggests that the "target group" for change not be a unit experiencing major difficulties. Successful change is most likely to occur among faculty who perceive some problems and are thus motivated to change, but whose sense of security and competence makes innovation an *opportunity* for improvement rather than an additional threat.

Communication: The importance of how an innovation is perceived by the participants suggests that communication is a key element in innovation. Several critical aspects of a communication are the mode, credibility, and timing.

Communication may be one-way or two-way. One-way communication in the form of lectures, explanations, or publications, is the most common way of making others aware of an innovation. Two-way communication through conversations and discussions is crucial to the actual adoption of innovation because it provides an opportunity for faculty to express and clarify their feelings regarding the proposed change.

Another critical aspect of communication is credibility. Communications are judged on the credibility of the source as much as on the content of the message. Some faculty are of course considered to be more credible sources of information and more respected for their judgment than are others. Such faculty need not occupy formal positions of authority; it is their status and identification with other participants that counts.

Successful communication about innovation, therefore, is often a two-step process.[9] The first step involves identifying and communicating with the "faculty opinion leaders" of an institution who in step two communicate personally with other participants and to a considerable degree affect their decision to adopt or reject an innovation. The judg-

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[7] M. B. Miles, "Innovation in Education: Some Generalizations." In Miles, M. B. (Ed.) *Innovation in Education.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964, page 638.

[8] Evans, *Resistance to Innovation in Higher Education,* page 17.

[9] E. Katz and, P. F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence.* Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1955.

ment of "opinion leaders" is of particular influence with those who are hesitant about an innovation, or when the outcomes of innovation cannot be predicted with any certainty.[10]

Several communication principles for academic innovation include:

1) Opportunities for general exposure to and discussion of new ideas and proposals should be directed particularly toward those who are prone to innovation generally and to faculty "opinion leaders." These people are more likely to communicate generally with other faculty.

2) The best use of outside sources such as consultants is to generate awareness and interest. Outside sources are not likely to have much influence on the actual evaluation of a proposal. An exception may be peers in similar institutions who have experienced the innovation and who are judged to be credible sources of information.

3) Because of the importance of personal influence, personal communication should be directed especially to opinion leaders among faculty, not to "sell" the proposal but to clarify perceptions and attitudes.

4) Communications systems including personal or informal communications often become rigid, and individuals may base their judgments on interaction with a small number of opinion leaders who may be opposed to innovations of any kind. For this reason creation of alternative communication systems, including "temporary systems" such as committees, study groups, and retreats, may open new sources of personal communications and bring faculty in contact with other potential opinion leaders.

5) Opportunity for clarification of perceptions and feelings about an innovation should be maximized as faculty and other participants begin to evaluate the proposal. Memoranda and lectures alone are not likely to reduce misperceptions.

The Decision-Making Process

Stages of Adoption: Rogers[11] contends that the process of adoption or rejection of an innovation occurs generally in five stages: a) *awareness* of the innovation, b) development of *interest,* c) *evaluation* of the innovation's potential benefits (is it viewed as a threat or as an opportunity), d) a *trial* or an experimental period in which the innovation is adopted without full commitment, and e) full-scale *adoption.*

Selection of the Target Group: Some academic settings are obviously more conducive to change than others. Selection of sub-units or the

[10] E. M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations.* New York: Free Press, 1962.
[11] Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations.*

development of new "target" groups may be the best strategy to achieve innovation. In many institutions it is possible to create temporary groups which develop innovations on an experimental basis. If successful, adoption can be recommended to other units. If an existing subunit must be selected as the target group it is seldom wise to begin with that unit where the problems are greatest since disclosure of the need for reform may produce more resistance than openness to improvement.

The Awareness and Interest Stages: Development of awareness of an innovation involves two elements: awareness of the innovation itself and of its general potential, and awareness of the present situation in the organization and the relative improvement the innovation is likely to make over present practice.

Channels for systematic dissemination of information about potential innovations should be established. Additional opportunities to broaden awareness of educational alternatives through conferences and through visits to innovative institutions should be provided especially for those inclined toward innovation and for faculty "opinion leaders" who will in turn influence other faculty.

To understand the present situation and the proposed innovation's potential for improving that situation each faculty member must possess a clear understanding of the institution's goals, accurate information about the degree to which those goals are being achieved, and the best prediction of what the innovation is likely to accomplish.

Direct personal communication regarding the present situation insures that participants cannot "ignore" the problem. Contact is extemely desirable between those who are in a position to make decisions; e.g., faculty and administrators, and those who may be dissatisfied with the situation; e.g., students.

Pressure for premature commitment to an innovation should be avoided. Such pressure narrows the person's range of acceptable alternatives to those most compatible with his present views and precludes consideration of major changes.

The Evaluation Stage: At the evaluation stage personal and local considerations assume major importance. To achieve adoption and personal commitment, faculty must perceive the innovation as more of a personal opportunity than a threat. This involves several conditions:

1) The organization's general norms on innovativeness should be interpreted, and the specific rewards for and constraints upon the innovation determined.

2) Insofar as possible the situation predicted to result from adoption of the innovation should be made explicit. Particular attention

should be given to the side-effects of innovation; e.g., increased workload, loss of autonomy, loss of influence.

3) The actual proposal should be formulated to fall within the "zone of acceptance" of the values held by participants. Care in relating the proposal to major institutional and faculty goals, and willingness to compromise at strategic points, are important.

4) Major provision should be made for improving faculty competence to function in the new situation.

5) Effort should be made to establish personal contact with all faculty regarding the proposed innovation. Specific attention should be directed to "opinion leaders" who will in turn shape the attitudes of other participants.

6) A time-table for decision-making should be established early in the evaluation stage, and adequate time for discussion of the proposal should be insured.

7) Both the proposal itself and the time-table for decision-making should be flexible to permit incorporation of valid objections and reconsideration of steps previously taken as new evidence or problems arise.

All participants should realize that during the evaluation stage there will develop a sub-stage known as "hard-bargaining" in which the innovation and its various elements will be considered for their "trade-off benefits." Those who favor a participant involvement strategy cannot ignore the political realities of the situation. However, if the norm of personal and institutional openness can be maintained, political considerations and other side effects of innovation will be considered openly rather than carried as a "hidden agenda."

The Trial and Adoption Stages: Provision for an experimental tryout encourages adoption or rejection of an innovation on the basis of experience rather than on some expectation of what might happen. Allowing individual participants to delay full commitment to the innovation until they have some experience with it also promotes greater eventual acceptance.

Requiring a trial stage also forces participants to operationalize their educational goals (i.e., what exactly should change as a result of adopting the innovation), and to establish workable measures of success. A minimum trial period for most complex innovations is two complete cycles of the innovation. The first cycle inevitably involves working out problems which beset any new procedure, and evaluation during the first cycle should be focused upon diagnosing and overcoming the "bugs". During the trial period participants should be provided information

regarding their progress. Such information maintains interest and reinforces tentative commitments to the innovation.

The period following adoption of an innovation is also a period for restoration of relationships within the institution. No innovation is accepted completely by all participants and those opposed must be given the opportunity to reconcile the innovation with their own values, experiences, and often reasonable judgments. Positive attitudes towards "forced compliance" can be encouraged by acknowledging the personal integrity of those who opposed a particular change and by directing attention to other shared concerns and tasks which may restore patterns of personal interaction and good will.

Conclusion: Many of the propositions advanced in this paper will require substantial organizational reform before implementation can be fully achieved. But organizational reform will only create the climate; it will not itself re-educate faculty and students to view academic innovation as the opportunity for further personal growth for themselves and for their co-participants. In the final analysis achievement of a viable and innovative institution depends upon each participant's personal commitment to those conditions which provide the greatest growth and self-fulfillment for every member of the organization.